

EMANCIPATION NOT A FAILURE.

---

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN HUTCHINS,

OF OHIO,

IN REPLY TO HIS COLLEAGUE, MR. COX,

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1862.

---

WASHINGTON, D. C.  
SCAMMELL & CO., Printers, corner of Second street & Indiana avenue, Third Floor  
1862.

10 June 1970

ANTI-  
SLAVERY  
E  
453  
. H82  
1862

729862

## S P E E C H .

---

Mr. CHAIRMAN : My colleague [Mr. Cox] from the Columbus district, on the 6th of June, in Committee of the Whole, made a most extraordinary speech, intending thereby to damage the fair reputation of the Thirty-seventh Congress, whose epitaph, after a fashion, he took the pains to write out. The most cruel epitaph he could have written would have been the following, inserted at the close of his speech : " This speech was listened to with patience by the House." In justice to the House, it should be stated, that during its delivery there were but few members present, and most of them his political friends. There is one other fact that it may be important to notice in connection with this speech—that it was delivered late Friday evening, and that it was distributed in pamphlet form early the next morning, and, consequently, I suppose most of it must have been in type before it was delivered, and this will account for ["laughter"] coming in *very* frequently, and at proper places. It is sometimes difficult to get the laugh in when one wants it, for it will not always come at a speaker's bidding, and this mode of my colleague supplies this defect, and shows when the auditors should have laughed, if they did not. I will briefly notice some points of this carefully written out speech. I cannot consent to follow his *style* of argumentation, for I cannot do it without getting into the muddy element in which he delights to sport. He takes to the turbid waters of low ridicule as naturally as the polliwog does to the dirty waters of the ditch. In these riled waters he swims without a rival, and is unquestionably without a peer in the Thirty-seventh Congress. He arraigns this Congress before the grand inquest of the nation, and the gravamen of his charge is, that the interest of the white man is neglected for the benefit of the negro; that Congress puts in peril the Constitution and the Union to carry out the Utopian idea of negro equality. My colleague this session has introduced and spoken upon the negro question oftener than any member on this side of the House. Negro equality seems to disturb his meditations by day, and his dreams by night. Can it be that he fears the competition of negro equality? The bitterness of some men towards a rival is measured by their fear of that rival. I will not say this is the case with my colleague, but a circumstance to which I will soon refer gives *color* to the suspicion. My colleague takes special pains and peculiar delight, on all occasions, to prejudice and slander colored men, and to ridicule all men who are disposed to do them simple justice. He is quick to take advantage of a prejudice which the accumulated oppressions and wrongs of ages have created against the African to crush him still lower in the scale of degradation. He ridicules all efforts to better his condition by low appeals to a prejudice which slavery has intensified, if it did not create. His speech shows him to be in favor of the perpetual slavery of the African. He is opposed to colonization or the liberation of the slaves of rebels, fearing it may result in general emancipation. He fears that unless enslaved and held in the degradation of cast, Africans will somehow or other

work themselves into dangerous competition with the Anglo Saxon. The justice and the logic of his position are on a par. The bitterness and the meanness of his attack upon the colored race, will appear in a few characteristic extracts from his recent speech, which I will denominate, by the use of one of his *classic* expressions, the “cesspool of iniquity.”

Speaking of the colored people of Ohio, he said, "as a general thing they are vicious, indolent, and improvident."

After quoting from a speech of Senator Sherman, my colleague said:

" If the Senator could visit Green's Row, within the shadow of this Capitol, henceforth 'Tophet and black Gehenna called, the type of hell,' and note the squalor, destitution, laziness, crime, and degradation there beginning to fester; if he could visit the alleys in whose miserable hovels the blacks congregate, he would hardly be reminded of the paradise which Milton sang, with its amaranthine flowers, [laughter] its blooming trees of life, its golden fruitage, its amber rivers rolling o'er elysian flowers, its hills and fountains and fresh shades, its dreams of love, and its adoration of God. Alas! he would find nothing here to remind him of that high estate in Eden, save the fragrance of the spot and the nakedness of its inhabitants. [Laughter.]

"If the rush of free negroes to this paradise continues, it would be a blessing if Providence should send Satan here in the form of a serpent, and an angel to drive the descendants of Adam and Eve into the outer world. If it continues, you will have no one here but Congressmen and negroes, and that will be punishment enough. [Laughter.] You will have to enact a fugitive law, to bring the whites to their capital. [Laughter.]"

Referring to another colleague, [Mr. EDGERTON,] he said:

"It is recorded that in his county a white woman of Akron sued out a *habeas corpus*, (for the writ runs there yet, at least where there is color of right,) to take a mulatto baby from a Mrs. Jones, a negro woman, under whose care it had been placed by its white mother, and who had become attached to the pickaninny. In the course of the discussion, Mrs. J. told the white woman that she thought "if the white folks were mean enough to have negro babies, they ought to be willing to let colored people bring them up." [Laughter.] So the judge decided. These little straws show how to account for the preponderance of mulattoes North."

Speaking of his new Congressional district and the Western Reserve, he said:

"This new district, sir, is rich in colored materials." "A very pretty mosaic! A sweet, fragrant nest! And this is the Afric's coral strand to which my missionary labors are to be directed." [Laughter.]

"One would suppose that in the Western Reserve, where the profession of philanthropy is ever arising in prayer, in speech, and in print, where for years they cultivated no civil discipline which interfered with their notions of slavery, there would be throngs of blacks. Is it so? Thou iron-tongued census, speak!

"So that, in these ten counties of the Western Reserve, there are but a few more Africans than in one county of my district! Why they especially avoid Ashtabula I cannot say. Is it the prodigal profession and scant practice of humanity? [Laughter.] Or has Giddings, with a view to protect property and keep up its price, coaxed them into Canada, where happily he is now domiciled? And there is Geauga, with not as many negroes as Fulton county has Indians! What a commentary on representative fidelity is here! The member from Ashtabula, Mahoning, and Trumbull, [Mr. HUTCHINS] speaks for 166 negroes; but from his piteous ado, one would suppose that he represented at least as many

Africans as the king of Dahomey. [Laughter.] And there is my smiling colleague from the Northwest, [Mr. ASHLEY,] whose rotund form is ready to become like Niobe—all tears—by his grief for the poor negro; [laughter;] whose gushes of eloquence in their behalf remind one of the Arab lyrics in praise of the dark maidens of Abyssinia when they sung: ‘Oh! the black amber! the black amber! Its perfume, by far, is sweeter than all else on earth or in star; the lotus of Nile, the rose of Cashmere, my senses enthrall, when thou art not here.’ [Great laughter.] Yet, from the whole eleven counties of his district, he cannot count as many negroes, by half, as live in my own county.

“I am not particularly proud of representing a greater number of Africans than my colleagues. I think, so far as the chattering goes about their inalienable rights and everlasting wrongs, I am entirely unsuited to represent them.”

Upon the principle by which his political action is controlled, my colleague [Mr. Cox] cannot understand why it is that a representative should strive to do an act of common justice or an office of common humanity to a class of human beings who do not happen to be his immediate constituents.

The whole secret of his abuse of the negroes is, that they cannot vote. Had they the right of suffrage, I have no doubt he would sit up nights to compose peans to their praise.

My colleague at the extra session took occasion to unjustly reproach the Western Reserve for not raising its proportion of troops for this war. Statistics from authentic sources show that Ashtabula county, with a population of 31,814, has sent over fourteen hundred men. Trumbull county, with a population of 30,656, has sent nearly if not quite the same number, and this does not embrace some companies made up, and now in the service, under the recent call of the Governor, in response to the Government at Washington.

I have not seen the statistics from Mahoning county, but I believe she has sent as many men in proportion to her population as either Trumbull or Ashtabula county. The same is true of the other counties of the Reserve.

Franklin county, in which my colleague [Mr. Cox] resides, and in which is situated Columbus, the capital of the State, with a population of 50,361, according to a recent statement, has only sent between nine hundred and a thousand men. This may be accounted for, in part, from a fact stated in my colleague’s speech, that there are in his county many more mulattoes and negroes than in the counties of the Reserve, and when the Government is willing to receive such aid, very likely his county will furnish her quota.

My colleague has been some time before the public as a politician, and he has figured somewhat in other departments of human enterprise. He has travelled, and added to the contributions of literature by making a note of his travels. In other words, he has written a book. There was wisdom in Job’s desire that his “adversary had written a book.” I quote from the title-page of my adversary’s book: “A Buckeye Abroad, or Wanderings in Europe and in the Orient, by Samuel S. Cox.”

This is grandiloquent and euphonious. So far, so good. I make no criticism upon the book or the subject-matter of it. In sentiment it is average, and in literary execution it is respectable. The first chapter shows a turn of sea-sickness, but this is said to be good for the stomach. A turn just before my colleague composed his speech might have relieved it of much foul matter.

To show the House and the country the difference between “A Buckeye abroad” and a Buckeye at home, I will ask the Clerk to read a passage from my colleague’s book, in which he described the “Pope at service,” in Sistine chapel. The Clerk read the following:

“While waiting the entrance of His Holiness, the mind can find delight in examining the ‘last judgment of Angelo frescoed upon the wall of the Chapel.’ Every variety of hope, doubt, despair, and beatitude, beam upon us from the figures upon the wall. Within a

sacred enclosure over which tip-toed curiosity can barely peep is a green carpeted floor and tapestry hangings, with an altar and a throne. Seats are arranged for the cardinals, who soon begin to pour in, dressed in great red gowns and skull-caps, attended by servants in purple. After bows and crosses, the servants proceed to unroll the trains and seat the cardinals. A very hearty array of old Romans they seem, with their arms under cover, their gaudy hair shining, their lofty brows and intelligent faces bespeaking good living as well as study and reflection. Most of them kept up an inaudible prayer. One fine old, tremblingly fat gentleman seemed to be beyond the age of piety, but his habitual prayer-falness still played upon his lips. He reminded me of Chaucer's monk, who repeated all his terms,

‘That he had learned out of some decree,  
No wonder was he heard it all the day.’

“Directly, buff soldiers, with gilt hemlets and drawn swords, rush in to guard the door. I thought, at first, that there was a sudden insurrection, knowing that in matters of power, as poor Pius has learned, ‘there is but one step from the Capitol to the Tarpean Rock.’ But, no; the choir strike the high notes; the doors beyond open, and ‘Viola,’ the vicegerent of God appears in his tiara and cloth of gold. Around him swarm ministers of every degree and shade of color. He kneels; the rustle of red cardinals shivers in the hallowed air, and all kneel. Then he ascends to the throne, a fine-looking, full-faced man, graceful and dignified in his bearing. Power he seems to wear as a familiar garment. How graciously he extends to the cardinals, who severally leave their seats, attended by their attendants in purple, carrying their trains. They, bowing, kiss the hand, or, as I was informed, the diamond brilliant upon the Pope’s ring, as a token of reverence. An inferior order prostrate themselves, and tip their labia at the shoe of His Holiness, upon which is a cross of silver. In the meantime, seraphic music from the Pope’s select choir ravishes the ear, while the incense titillates the nose. Soon there arises in this chamber of theatrical glitter, a plain, unquestioned African, and utters the sermon in facile latinity with graceful manner. His dark hands gestured harmoniously with the rotund periods, and his swart visage beamed with a high order of intelligence. He was an Abyssinian. \* \* \*

“What a commentary was here upon our American prejudices! The head of the great Catholic church surrounded by the ripest scholars of the age, listening to the eloquence of the despised negro, and thereby illustrating to the world the common bond of brotherhood which binds the human race.

“The sermon of the Abyssinian, in beautiful print, was distributed at the door. I bring one home as a trophy and as a souvenir of a great truth, which Americans are prone to deny or condemn.”

This Abyssinian admiration of my colleague, which he has so graphically described, may have suggested to him the propriety of having his speech mostly in type ready for distribution as soon as delivered.

The quotations from my colleague’s speech which I have read show “the Buckeye” at home. The extracts just read by the Clerk show the “Buckeye abroad.” This Buckeye shrub flourishes best in exotic soil. There it grows to respectable height, and its foliage is quite beautiful; but at home it grows low and scrubby, and its foliage is scabby. I would suggest to my colleague to become not a “wandering Jew,” but a wandering “Buckeye abroad.” In his case “distance lends enchantment to the view.” In justice to my colleague I will state that these quotations from his recent speech are taken from the “Sunset” side of his political life, when he is in “the sere and yellow leaf.” A few words in reply to his indictment against this Congress. The events which have occurred up to this time during the life of the Thirty-seventh Congress are the most eventful in our history. The Government, of which the Congress is a part, since the 4th of March, 1861, the day on which Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated President, has had forced upon it perplexing questions and embarrassing duties to a greater extent than in the same length of time during any former period since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. This Congress, as the legislative branch of the Government, has had to meet those questions and discharge those duties, and history will record in the main that it has met its responsibilities and performed its duties wisely and well. From the persistent opposition of my colleague [Mr.

Cox] and those who act with him politically this Congress has failed to do some things which it should promptly have done, and what he most complains of will live on the historic page as among its most noble and beneficent acts.

This Congress found the Government in debt one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, caused by the frauds, stealings, and imbecility of a Democratic Administration, which my colleague helped to elect and which he supported. It found its navy scattered to distant seas by the orders of that Democratic Administration. It found its munitions of war, arms and ordnance, and most of its treasure, in the hands of traitors and rebels by the connivance and treachery of the members of the Cabinet of that Administration. It found many of the Government forts, arsenals, dock-yards, navy-yards, custom-houses and mints in possession of armed rebels, a large majority of whom were members of the party to which my colleague belongs. The Government securities were selling at a discount of 16 per cent.; public confidence abroad in the integrity and stability of the Government was gone, and at home it was materially weakened and well nigh destroyed, and nearly all the Democratic party in the slave States and many of its members in the free States were openly or secretly conspiring to overthrow the Government and destroy the unity of the nation. A majority of the army officers who were Democrats had turned traitors, and had basely deserted their flag, and were in arms against the Government which had educated them.

The foregoing is a general and brief statement of the condition of affairs when the Thirty-seventh Congress, on the call of the President, on the 4th day of July last, was summoned to a discharge of its duties. So energetic, prompt, and thorough was the action of the Thirty-seventh Congress at the extra session, that it inspired hope and revived confidence throughout the loyal sections of the country. Laws were promptly passed, on the recommendation of the Executive and his Cabinet, to provide ways and means to raise an army and provide a navy; and forthwith, in response to these measures, six hundred thousand citizen-soldiers were in the field, armed, equipped, and supplied with all requisite munitions of war. The scattered navy was collected as soon as possible; new and improved vessels of war were built; the navy was reorganized, and its glorious achievements at Hatteras, Roanoke, Forts Henry, Donelson, Pulaski, Phillips, Jackson, at Island No. 10, at New Orleans, at Memphis, and at other places, in co-operation with the army, are the grand results. The action of Congress was but the echo of the patriotic voice of the people. On the authority of law money flowed into the Treasury at the call of its Secretary, sufficient to meet all those extraordinary expenses, and to-day the Government securities are selling at a premium. So far as the raising of money, means, materials and munitions of war is concerned, the success in the same length of time is without a parallel in the history of any nation. The Government of England, in 1796, under the administration of Mr. Pitt, effected a loan, known in history as the "Loyalty Loan," being raised by the voluntary subscription of loyal persons, of eighteen million pounds. This fact has been proudly chronicled by English writers as a remarkable instance of the patriotism and of the exhaustless resources of the English people. The loyal American capitalists as quickly responded to the amount of one hundred and fifty million dollars! Napoleon, in the zenith of his power, and in the pride of his military success, and in the height of his military glory, never raised and put into the field an army of six hundred thousand men as promptly as did the President of the United States on the authority of the legislation of the Thirty-seventh Congress.

The nations of Europe have beheld these results with wonder and amaze-

ment, and some of them with chagrin. Our national symbol, the American flag, with no star obscured and no stripe erased, will soon float in triumph over every rood of the Republic, and it will again *command* respect on every sea and at every port where commerce, enterprise and civilization have a habitation and a name. Whatever has been found defective in the legislation of the extra session has been corrected, and is being corrected at the present session. Congress has matured a system of taxation commensurate with the high duties which it has been compelled to discharge. This has been a most arduous and difficult task. There are, doubtless, defects in this system which experience will develop and which future legislation will correct. The patriotism of the people has been tested in surrendering the flower of its population for the defence of the Government, and the croakings of demagogues and traitors at the tax bill will not swerve them from their integrity or frighten them from their patriotism. The soldiers must be paid—their families must be provided for. This Congress has had to act upon embarrassing questions, some of them without precedent in the history of the Government. There has been occasion for honest difference of opinion among loyal and patriotic men as to the legality and policy of certain measures. Upon many questions each member, in obedience to the judgment of the whole, has been obliged to yield up, to some extent, his individual opinions, and the individual ideas of members of what is right and proper cannot always be carried out.

In discharge of those high duties which this rebellion has devolved on this Congress, it has freed the capital from the disgrace and the crime of slavery; and looking upon slavery in the States as the immediate cause of this wicked war against the Government, on the recommendation of the President, Congress, in a liberal and friendly spirit, has proposed to aid by pecuniary compensation such States as may desire to rid themselves of this terrible incubus. As a punishment for crime, as means of putting down the rebellion, Congress is proposing to confiscate the property of rebels, and to deprive them of their slaves. Following the teachings of Jefferson, and the example of the Congress of 1787, this Congress has forever prohibited slavery in the Territories acquired and to be acquired.

Against these and other kindred measures of obvious policy and justice my colleague of the Columbus district protests by voice and vote, and because Congress entertains them, he hurls at it his bitterest denunciations. I am grateful to my constituents for an opportunity to vote for and advocate such measures. Few men in any age have had, or will have, an opportunity to do so much good in a public way as the members of the Thirty-seventh Congress. These measures, against which my colleague wags his tongue with such bitterness and hatred, will be regarded in history as the noblest acts of the Thirty-seventh Congress. They recognise the inalienable right of man to life, liberty, and justice. One cannot fail, in reading my colleague's tirade against these acts, to be reminded of the burning words of Marc Antony over the dead body of Cæsar :

“ Oh judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,  
And men have lost their reason.”

History will be true to justice, and will not “own such judgment” as my colleague has pronounced.

He interposes against these measures with all his powers of ridicule “the raw-head and bloody bones” of negro equality. These measures have no relation to political or social equality, and have no tendency to regulate the one or interfere with the other. Because we are willing to do justice to the

humblest in society, does it follow that we are bound to extend to them the same social and political privileges which we enjoy? Because my colleague is disposed to pay his humble washer-woman a just compensation for her labor, shall I reproach him with the *inclination* to marry her, or to invite her to his table? The right of suffrage is a political right, and a State or political community may withhold it from a class of persons, without an interference with their natural rights. It is withheld in most of the States from foreigners till they have resided in the country five years. It may be granted conditionally to, or withheld entirely from, colored persons, without injustice to their natural rights. The people of each State are entirely competent to regulate that matter, and most people are competent to control their social relations. Should the gradual emancipation plan be carried out in the States, and should confiscation liberate the slaves of rebels, if my colleague really fears he shall be brought down or up to a social equality with liberated Abyssinians, such as he saw at Sistine Chapel, or if he fears any tendency to amalgamate with that race which he so despises in this country, but which in Rome so charmed him, I will not object to a special law for his benefit. Such a bill would be in order on private bill day, if no objection is made, and I am sure no one on this side of the House will be so unkind as to interpose an objection. My colleague seems to have but little prejudice against the society of traitors, and from his votes here he would seem desirous of cultivating it. This may be attributed to the fact that his system is so full of prejudice against the negro, that there is no room for justice to traitors. The space is limited. A bill passed the House, a few days since, entitled "An act to prescribe an oath of office." This bill provided in substance that all United States officers shall take an oath that they have not voluntarily engaged in this rebellion, or borne arms against the United States.

Without such a law, at the close of the war this House might be mainly filled, from the States now in rebellion, with traitors. My colleague showed by his vote that he was willing as a member of this body to set alongside of traitors, whose hands are red with the blood of his murdered constituents. My colleague and all his Democratic associates voted against this bill. They do not object to the society of traitors, but they do oppose acts of common justice and humanity to loyal colored persons. My colleague throws out in his speech the pro-slavery argument that emancipation in the West Indies has been a failure. This is untrue. Emancipation nowhere has been a failure, politically, morally, or peculiarly; for the reason, that freedom is better than slavery for all parties concerned; and because right is always productive of good, and wrong is always productive of evil. This is part of the economy of Providence in the government of this world. Emancipation in the West Indies has been a great success, and as an example we should profit by it. Pro-slavery writers and speakers have seized upon isolated facts and in ignorance of the real condition of the islands before and since emancipation, or wilfully blind to it, have used these facts to the prejudice of emancipation. An able writer in the Edinburgh Review for April, 1859, in an article entitled "West Indies as they were and are," used the following language:

"Never was a more radical revolution made in the fortunes of a whole people than when 800,000 British negroes stepped from slavery into freedom. When the clock began to strike twelve on the night of July 31, 1838, they were, in the eye of the law, things, chattel, beasts of burden, the mere property of others. When it had ceased to sound, they were, for the first time, not only freemen, but *men* standing on the same level as those who had formerly owned them."

The negroes were everywhere jubilant when their birthright of freedom was

restored to them. Rev. James Phillipo, Baptist missionary in Jamaica, in describing the state of things when the slaves were released from their apprenticeship in 1838, uses the following language :

" In front of the Baptist Chapel were three triumphal arches decorated with leaves and flowers, and surrounded by flags with inscriptions, ' Freedom has come ! ' ' Slavery is no more ! ' ' The chains are broken ; Africa is free ! ' The enthusiasm of the multitude was aroused up to the highest pitch. They wanted to greet all the flags, many of which bore the names of their benefactors, ' Sturge,' ' Brougham,' ' Sligo,' &c. The flags were unfurled, and for nearly an hour the air rang with exulting shouts, in which the shrill voices of the 2,000 children joined : ' We're free ! ' ' We're free ! ' ' Our wives and our children are free ! ' "

Could emancipation to such people be a failure ?

The real condition of the West Indies has been misunderstood or grossly misrepresented. What has been quoted as a failure of emancipation is attributable to other causes, and emancipation is in nowise responsible for it. The principal fact relied upon to show that the Islands were injured by emancipation, is the fact, that in some years since emancipation the exports have been less than before.

The chief end of man in society is not to raise produce to export, and this fact is not the best criterion of the prosperity of a country. When all things are taken into the account, the facts on this head are against slavery, as I will hereafter briefly show. The bad economy of slavery in the West Indies had well nigh bankrupted and ruined them, as it always does any State or country where it is tolerated. The population returns from the Islands, made to the British Parliament, prior to emancipation, showed that in eleven islands, (the only ones from which returns were made,) " the slaves had decreased in twelve years, by no less than sixty thousand two hundred and nineteen ; namely, from 558,194 to 497,975." According to the estimate of the Edinburgh Review, " had similar returns been procured from the other seven Colonies, (including Mauritius, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Grenada,) the decrease must have been little, if at all, less than 100,000." What an appalling fact was this—one hundred thousand human beings slaughtered in twelve years, that a few privileged slaveholders might become rich in exporting rum and sugar !

A few may be pecuniarily benefited by such a state of things, but everything valuable and desirable in society must go to decay.

This damning fact was enough, in the estimation of the British public, to destroy slavery. Emancipation came, and in the next twelve years, from ten Colonies (no returns were made from the others) there was an increase of 54,076 colored persons. This may be set down to the credit of freedom. Increase of population is always regarded as an evidence of prosperity in a State or community.

Under the demoralizing influences of slavery the West Indies, prior to emancipation, were rapidly going to decay in commerce and in everything that concerns the well-being of society. In Jamaica, for the ten years prior to 1830, the decrease in sugar was no less than 201,842 hogsheads from the amount produced for ten years prior to 1820. Lord Chandos, in 1830, presented a petition from the West India merchants and planters, setting forth the extreme distress under which they labored, and he declared in his speech, in substance, that it was impossible for them to bear up against such pressure any longer. He said, " they are reduced to a state in which they are obliged earnestly to solicit relief from Parliament." Mr. Bright said, " the distress of the West India colonial body is unparalleled in the country." A report on the commercial state of the West Indies, as copied in the West India Reporter, con-

tains this language: "There are the strongest concurrent testimony and proofs that unless some speedy and efficient measures of relief are adopted, the ruin of a great number of the planters must inevitably very soon take place." This was under the halcyon rule of slavery. The planters were overwhelmed with debt; their estates were mortgaged to English capitalists for large amounts. In 1833, in the little island of St. Lucia, estates were mortgaged to the amount of over \$5,000,000 for debts incurred under that delightful state of slavery which my colleague [Mr. Cox] is so solicitous to perpetuate in this country.

Mr. Bigelow, of the New York *Evening Post*, whose intelligence and integrity will not be questioned, as the result of his careful observations in visiting the Islands, as to their condition prior to emancipation, says:

"The island of Jamaica was utterly insolvent; nearly every estate was mortgaged for more than it was worth, and was liable for more interest than it could possibly pay—bankruptcy was inevitable. I have given my reasons for believing that the emancipation act did not cause, but only precipitated a result which was inevitable. It compelled a balance to be struck between the debtors and creditors, which revealed rather than begat the poverty which no effort can conceal."

Other proof equally satisfactory might be cumulated on this point, but it is unnecessary. The fact is established beyond controversy or doubt that it was slavery which, in 1830, was ruining the West Indies. The cotton States at the commencement of this rebellion were in a similar condition. I have no doubt that their indebtedness to the commercial States accelerated the rebellion, and added fuel to the flame which slavery had kindled. This indebtedness probably was not less than two hundred and fifty or three hundred millions. This was quite a motive power to a revolution which would wipe it out by repudiating it. Southern rebel conventions and legislatures were quick to confiscate this indebtedness to loyal people; but my colleague [Mr. Cox] is as quick to oppose the confiscation of rebel property for the benefit of loyal men, fearing it will irritate those *dear traitors*, whose company he is so desirous of keeping. He imitates some Generals in the field, who are more energetic in protecting rebel property than in suppressing the rebellion.

It is perfectly natural—yes, inevitable—that such a change in the social and political condition of a people, as from slavery to freedom, should produce temporary confusion and inconvenience. This will apply to business or political affairs. It takes time for society to adapt itself to the new condition of things. It does not, therefore, follow that the change is not a wise one and should not have been made. The former slaveholders tried to avoid, by all means in their power, "the dreadful necessity of treating with respect, and alluring by wages, those whom not long before they could order to be put down and flogged for the least indolence." "Very many of the planters also gave their negroes notice to quit their cottages and grounds, under the idea that by such a threat they would force them to work for less wages. The result was, to make the negroes shift elsewhere."

An able article in the February number (1853) of the Westminster Review asserts that "the diminution of labor was the direct and immediate consequence of the mismanagement of the planters." Other causes not directly attributable to slavery or freedom contributed to bring about in the West Indies that "dreadful crash in 1847 which has since resounded through the world;" and the main cause of the falling off of exports was the fall of the price of sugar. In 1840 sugar sold for 49s. per cwt.; in 1848 it sold for only 23s. 5d. Sugar in the eight years ending with 1846 averaged 37s. 3d. per cwt.,

and in the eight following years it averaged only 24s. 6d. per cwt. In the first eight years the amount produced was twenty millions cwt.; in the second eight years it had increased to twenty-four and a half millions cwt. The sugar planters realized for their sugar fifteen million dollars less than they would have realized at the old prices. Sugar being the principal article of export, such a falling off would, of course, cause great commercial embarrassment; but pro-slavery writers and orators have charged this embarrassment to the account of emancipation. The evidence from reliable sources is overwhelming that the West India islands, under free labor, are rapidly recovering from the insolvency which slavery had caused. Wealth is increasing, crime diminishing, and the material and social condition of the people rapidly improving. I might multiply evidence upon these points to almost any extent. I quote a few statements from colonial reports made to Parliament as quoted in the April number, 1859, of the Edinburgh Review:

*"Barbadoes.* In ten years, 'between 1842 and 1852, increase of sugar exported is 27,240 hogheads.' The report for 1851, states, 'There has been more sugar shipped from this island this year than in any one year since it has been peopled; and it is a remarkable fact that there will be more *laborers'* sugar made this year than previously. By *laborers'* sugar is meant that raised by the negroes on their own patches of ground, and sent to the proprietor's mill for manufacture.' The report for 1853 announces 'vast increase in trade. So far the success of cultivation by free labor is unquestionable.' Report for 1858: 'A great increase in the value of the exports.' 'The large proportion of land acquired by the laboring classes furnishes striking evidence of their industry.'

*"Bahamas.* In 1851, the Governor reports, 'a great and important change for the better,' in the condition of the people; which he mainly attributes to 'improved education.' The rapidity with which these islands are advancing is indicated by the fact that the exports and imports increased in one year, from 1854 to 1855, £102,924 (\$498,666 78.)

*"Grenada.* Returns in 1851 and 1852 show an increase of trade, amounting to £88,414 (\$428,355 83.) Report of 1858: 'Contentment appears to pervade all classes of the community.' 'A proprietary body, of considerable magnitude and importance, has already risen from the laboring class.' 'State of the finances most satisfactory.' 'A greatly extended surface is covered by sugar cultivation.' A considerable increase is noted in the exports of sugar, rum, and cocoa. Some remarks on the want of labor.

*"Antigua.* Reports for 1858: 'Satisfactory evidence is afforded, by the revenue returns, of increase of trade and mercantile business, consequent upon the revival of agricultural prosperity.' (There had been a depression in consequence of a great fall in the price of sugar in 1847.)

*"Dominica.* Report for 1853: 'The steady maintenance of production is full of promise as to the future.' Report for 1857: 'The exports show a considerable increase.' 'Very considerable increase in revenue, and an equally marked improvement in the amount of imports.' In the report for 1858, the Governor speaks of the growing independence of the laborers, manifested 'in the small patches of canes, and little wooden mills here and there dotting the plains around.'

*"Guiana.* In 1852, the Governor reports that the fall in the price of sugar, in 1847 and 1848 (owing to the repeal of the tariff,) was 'so sudden and enormous, as to have almost annihilated the colony, at that crisis.' But he goes on to state that 'the revenue is now flourishing, population augmenting, education spreading, crime diminishing, and trade increasing.'

*"Montserrat.* In 1853, the Governor reports 'increase of confidence, enterprise, and industry.' 'The improved and improving state of the community is allowed on all hands.' 'No island in these seas exhibits a more decisive tendency to social and moral regeneration and improvement. The rural population are quiet, contented, and orderly.'

*"Nevis.* Report for 1857: 'The roads appear as if the greater part of the population had new clothed themselves; and in the harbor, so often deserted, I now count ten ships of considerable burden.' 'There appears now to be at work an industrious spirit of improvement.'

*"St. Kitts.* Report for 1856: 'A larger quantity of sugar is produced now than in the time of slavery,' (though on a smaller area.) Report for 1858: 'The agricultural prospects of the island are most encouraging. Its financial condition continues satisfactory; so do the education returns. Attendance in schools is steadily increasing. Crime is steadily diminishing. In one year, from 1856 to 1857, trade increased £106,233,' (\$514,642 88.)

*"St. Lucia.* Report for 1853: 'At no period of her history has there been a greater breadth of land under cultivation than at the present moment.' Between the four years ending 1842, and the four years ending 1856, the increase of sugar exported was 1,803,618 pounds.

*"St. Vincent.* In 1857, the Governor describes 'a really sound and healthy state of the colony at present, and a cheering and promising prospect for the future.' He describes the rising villages, the growing number of freeholders and leaseholders, and the steady progressive increase in the value of imports. In one year, from 1856 to 1857, imports and exports increased £156,633 (\$758,886 88;) and he expressly attributes it to 'increased cultivation and prosperity.' In 1858, he describes the colony as 'in a most satisfactory state.' 'Agricultural operations largely extended.' 'Anticipations of continued progress and prosperity fully realized.'

*"Tobago.* The accounts had been dismal in 1852 and 1853; but an improved financial system was adopted in 1856, the result of which was a report in 1858 announcing a 'marked improvement in the revenue returns.' The Governor describes the laborers as 'well-behaved and industrious.'

*"Tortola.* This island, under slavery, exported 15,559 cwt. of sugar. Now it exports none at all. But the change is wholly an advantage. It is remarkably well adapted for the raising of stock. 'The people, with few exceptions, are owners of cattle, which they dispose of to great advantage.' 'The laborers appear fully sensible of the advantages of education to their children, and the latter manifest a great desire to benefit by the opportunities offered them.'

*"Trinidad* is highly flourishing. In 1852, the crop was the largest ever shipped from the island; and it has been extending since. The whole trade greatly increased since slavery. The report for 1853 speaks of 'marked improvement in the cultivation of the sugar estates.' Export of sugar rose from an average of 310,797 cwt. under slavery, to 426,042 cwt. in the seven years ending 1854."

Do these official statements show that emancipation was a failure? On the contrary, they show, beyond cavil or doubt, that in the West Indies it has been a glorious success.

I will quote from a speech made in the House of Commons by Mr. C. Buxton in 1859:

"Because labor is free, and trade is free, the West Indies are now rising to a pitch of wealth and happiness unknown before. It would be impossible for me to lay before the House the immense mass of evidence which demonstrates that fact. I am assured of it by mercantile men; I find it strongly set forth in the Reports from the Governors of the Islands, and in the statistics furnished by the Board of Trade. In the four years between 1853 and 1857, there has been an increase in the exports and imports of the West Indies and Guiana of £4,500,000 (\$21,802,500.) Considering what mere specks these islands look on the map of America, it is astonishing that their trade to and fro, in the year 1857, should actually amount to £10,735,000 (\$52,011,075.) It is altogether absurd to suppose this prosperity is owing to the immigration of a few thousand laborers; and in fact the islands which have received no immigrants are quite as flourishing as those that have. Interested parties describe the negroes as barbarous and idle; but I find ample evidence that they are living in a high degree of industry and comfort; though I admit that they somewhat prefer working on freeholds they have purchased, to laboring for hire."

I have briefly referred to the success of emancipation in the West Indies, to refute the intimation of my colleague, and because the people of this country in some form must meet the fact of emancipation. The necessity of it is every day being made more and more apparent. The soldiers in the field see this more clearly than the citizen at home. We cannot expect permanent peace, if the status of slavery is to remain the same as before the war. No man, unless his wish is father to the thought, can entertain any other opinion. Events, beyond the control of the President, of the Cabinet, and of Congress, are irresistibly forcing the nation to that opinion. The question for the Government to determine is, whether it will lead this opinion, or be led by it. "God is just, and his justice will not sleep forever." My colleague and those like him need not expect to stay the current of events by pronouncing the African "ignorant, idle and vicious." Intelligent and just

men know\* that the surest way to relieve him from that ignorance and degradation is, to take from him that load of oppression which crushes out all motive for improvement, and honest men will act upon it. It is not singular that men who are in favor of keeping Africans in ignorance and slavery should oppose all efforts for their moral and intellectual instruction.

History will pronounce all such men tyrants and oppressors.

If Edward Stanly is permitted to carry out what report says he has commenced, to wit, the breaking up a school established and sustained by philanthropic persons, for the purpose of educating colored children, he will be regarded as infamous in history as a Jeffreys or a Haynau.

I advise my colleague [Mr. Cox] to look well to his own epitaph. That he may see himself as history will regard him, unless he mends his ways, I suggest the following :

Here lies the Buckeye at home.  
 "The evil that men do lives after them ;  
 The good is oft interred with their bones."  
 In case of this Buckeye, would that  
 This maxim might be reversed ;  
 If not, little will be found here *but bones*.  
 He expired with the Thirty-seventh Congress ;  
 He died of Negro-phobia, babbling  
 Against the NEGRO.  
 His ability fitted him for a higher mission.  
 But his sun went down in a *colored* "Sunset."  
*Requiescat in pace !*